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ABSTRACT

This study presents a preliminary analysis of Hungarian complement constructions and the syntactic operations needed to account for them. The expository framework (and the implicit framework of the research itself) is based upon that of Rosenbaum (1967). The aim of the paper is to arrive at a rough picture of the kinds of structures and syntactic devices evidenced by Hungarian complement (and other) constructions. The author seeks to justify the validity of the following notions in a grammar of Hungarian complementation: the existence, in the base component, of a particular phrase-structure rule concerning embedding in a complex sentence; and the presence of the syntactic transformations of extraposition, equi-noun-phrase deletion, and possible subject-raising. Before a discussion of subject raising, the author demonstrates how the syntactic machinery he has described works in the derivation of a variety of surface constructions involving essentially the same underlying structure. A list of references is included. (Author/VM)

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OUTLINE OF HUNGARIAN COMPLEMENTATION

Michael Szamosi

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0.0 In the following pages, I will present a preliminary analysis of Hungarian complement constructions and the syntactic operations needed to account for them. The expository framework (and the implicit framework of the research itself) is based upon that of Rosenbaum (1967). Needless to say, this latter is not the last word in syntactic analysis, and, in fact, much of it has been shown to be wrong. Nevertheless, quite a few of its assumptions and conclusions can still be regarded as valid, if not in detail, at least in the insights that they were intended to capture. The main advantage of such a framework is that it provides a consistent set of terms (and some syntactic criteria) for talking about the facts of complementation. My aim, at this point, is not to seek or to provide evidence for possible approaches to complementation, (although this is constantly kept in mind), but rather to arrive at a rough picture of the kinds of structures and syntactic devices evidenced by Hungarian complement (and other) constructions. Given that Hungarian is a language on which little or no syntactic work has been published in this country, the "Rosenbaum approach" is an excellent starting point and a useful tool in such an investigation. It has proved useful in this type of research in other languages whose complement structures include tensed and infinitival clauses (Cf. Perlmutter, (1971), Kayne, (1970)).

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0.1 In particular, then, I will justify, in the following, the validity of the following notions in a grammar of Hungarian complementation: the existence, in the base component, of a phrase structure rule NP $\rightarrow$ N (S)[1]; and the presence of the syntactic transformations of Extraposition, Equi-Noun-Phrase Deletion and, possibly, Subject Raising (but see below).

In sections 1 - 3, I will present my reasons for the above syntactic machinery, with some comments on processes that are peculiar to Hungarian. In section 4, I will pull together this machinery, and show how it works in the derivation of a variety of surface constructions involving essentially the same underlying structure. In section 5 I will present a brief discussion of Subject-Raising.

1.0 To begin with, then, I will show that the phrase structure rule NP$\rightarrow$ N (S), posited for English by Rosenbaum, also exists in the base component of the grammar of Hungarian. What this rule is intended to express is that, in the underlying Phrase Marker of a complex sentence (a sentence which contains an embedded sentence), the embedded S-node is (a) dominated by an NP-node, and (b) accompanied by a sister-node, which is an N. Since I do not propose to reduce all arguments in this demonstration to first principles, it is sufficient to show for (a), above, that the embedded S-node appears in putative deep structures in the same position as a lexical noun phrase and that transformations affect embedded sentences the same way as they do noun phrases. For (b) I will first point to the lexical N which appears in the "head-noun" position for

almost every embedded sentence; second, I will show that the transformations that move this embedded S-node move this lexical head noun along with it.

1.1 Consider (1) and (2) below:

(1) a. Janos titkolta a betegseget.
John kept secret the illness-his-Acc.
John kept his illness a secret.

b. Jeno orult az ajandeknak.
Eugene was happy the gift-Dat.
Eugene was happy with the gift.

c. Peter valasza nem lepte meg Olgat.
Peter answer-his not surprised Olga-Acc.
Peter's answer did not surprise Olga.

d. Karoly otkor meg nem volt otthon.
Carl five-at yet not was home.
At five o'clock, Carl was not home yet.

(2) a. Janos titkolta azt, hogy a felesege beteg.
John kept secret it-Acc that the wife-his sick.
John kept it a secret that his wife was sick.

b. Jeno orult annak, hogy a lanya ferjhezmegy.
Eugene was happy it-Dat that the daughter-his gets married.
Eugene was happ that his daughter was getting married.

c. Az, hogy Peter nem szereti ot, nem lepte meg Olgat.
It-Nom that Peter not love her-Acc not surprised Olga-Acc.
That Peter did not love her did not surprise Olga.

d. Karoly akkor, amikor hazajottem, nem volt otthon.
Carl it-at (time) which-at (time) I came home not was home.
or:
Carl then when I came home not was home.
Carl was not home when I came home.

The above examples illustrate several things at once Note first that, in (2), a sentential complement appears in the place where we see a lexical noun phrase in the corresponding sentence of (1). (Hogy is the equivalent of English 'that', the complementizer

which introduces a tensed embedded clause.) Thus, in (1a), the direct object of titkolta is a lexical noun, a betegseget, while in (2a) the direct object is an entire sentence: azt, hogy a felesege beteg; and so on down, through (2d). This suggests that an embedded S-node is dominated by an NP-node.

Second, note the underlined forms in (2a-d). They are all case-marked (or postpositional) forms of the demonstrative az, 'that it', which appears in its unmarked, nominative form in (2c). In the other forms, azt = az+t (Acc), annak = az+nak (Dat), akkor = az+kor (at(time)), by regular phonological rules. (This demonstrative is the "head noun" for all embedded sentences in Hungarian equivalent to the IT in English posited by Rosenbaum). That this is so is suggested by the intuition of native speakers, who "feel" that, in every case, this demonstrative is to be "construed with" the sentential complement.

There is also a syntactic argument to show this. The transformation of Topicalization relates the two sentences below:

(3) Janos titkolta a betegseget (same as (1)).

(4) A betegseget, azt Janos titkolta.
The illness-his-Acc it-Acc John kept secret.
His illness, John kept secret
or: As for his illness, John kept it secret.

Note that we can tell whether a sentence like (4) is an instance of Topicalization rather than simple word order shift, because of the appearance of the anaphoric pronoun azt ('it-Acc). (The inanimate anaphoric pronoun has the same phonological shape as the demonstrative.) As in French, or Spanish, Topicalization

in Hungarian involves moving the "topicalized" NP to the front of the sentence, leaving a pronoun behind. This rule can also apply to noun phrases in subject position, in which case the pronoun left behing will be in the nominative:

(5) Peter valasza nem lepte meg Olgat (same as '1c)).

(6) Peter valasza, az nem lepte meg Olgat.
As for Peter's reply, it did not surprise Olga.

No if embedded S-nodes are dominated by NP, then we could expect Topicalization to apply to embedded clauses as well. Indeed it does, as evidenced by (7) and (8), which are the topicalized versions of (2a) and (2c), respectively. Note, further, that when the embedded clauses of (2a) and (2c) are moved by this rule of Topicalization, their putative "head-nouns", the underlined demonstratives azt and az, move along. This means that the NP-node dominating S, which is moved, also dominates these demonstratives: $[_{NP}\underline{az}\ S]_{NP}$

(7) Azt, hogy a felesege beteg, azt Janos titkolta.
As for (the fact) that his wife was sick, John kept it a secret.

(8) Az, hogy Peter nem szereti ot, az nem lepte meg Olgat.
As for (the fact) that Peter doesn't love her, it did not surprise Olga.

This captures the "feeling" alluded to above that the demonstrative is "construed with" the sentential complement. We have seen, then, that sentential complements appear in the same places as lexical noun phrases, that they are affected by transformations which refer to noun-phrases; in effect, they are dominated by noun phrases. Furthermore, the noun-phrases which dominate sentences, also dominate another noun, namely, the demonstrative

"head-noun". This is sufficient justification for the Phrase-Structure rule NP -- N (S), mentioned at the beginning of this section (1.0).

2.0 This section illustrates the operation of the rule of Extraposition in Hungarian. This rule, as posited by Rosenbaum for English, moves a tensed clause which is in a $[_{NP}N\ S]_{NP}$ structure around any lexical material that is found to its right. There is no doubt that the rule exists in Hungarian, and I will only give a few examples of its operation.

2.1 The clearest examples of this rule in Hungarian are ones involving sentential subjects. Accordingly, consider (2c), which I will repeat here for convenience:

(9) Az, hogy Peter nem szereti ot, nem lepte meg Olgat.
(It) that Peter does not like her didn't surprise Olga.

Extraposition is the rule which brings the tensed clause, between the commas in (9), to the end of the sentence:

(10) Az nem lepte meg Olgat, hogy Peter nem szereti ot.
It did not surprise Olga that Peter doesn't love her.

For another example which does not involve an embedded subject, consider first sentences of the type:

(11) A problemanak erdekes kovetkezmenyei vannak.
The problem-Dat interesting consequences-its are.
The problem has interesting consequences.

Now instead of the initial noun phrase, problema, we could have an embedded clause, again with a demonstrative head noun, in the dative case:

(12) Annak, hogy az arak felmentek, erdekes kovetekezmenyei
It-Dat that the prices went up interesting consequences-its

vannak.
are.
(The fact) that the prices went up, has interesting consequences.

As expected, the embedded tensed clause can also appear at the end of the sentence--another example of Extraposition:

(13) Annak erdekes kovetkezmenyei vannak, hogy az arak felmentek.

Obviously, one of the discernible surface-effects of this transformation is the separation of a tensed clause from its head noun. There are examples, other than the ones shown above, where this happens, but it is hard to show beyond a doubt that such a surface separation is indeed the result of this rule.

3.0 In this section I will be concerned with the main source of infinitival complements in Hungarian, Equi-Noun-Phrase Deletion. The justification for this rule is straightforward enough; it involves the familiar gap-in-the-paradigm argument.[2]

3:1 For the sake of convenience, I will consider first cases in which the sentential complement is a verbal object; e.g. of the verb akar, 'want'. Usually, the sentential complement of this verb is a tensed clause:

(14) (En) akartam, hogy Janos olvasson.
I wanted that John read.
I wanted John to read.

But, just in case the matrix subject and the complement subject are identical, we find

(15) *(En) akartam, hogy (en) olvassak.
I wanted that I read.

On the other hand, the meaning of (15) is conveyed, just as in

English, by the use of the infinitive form of the complement verb:

(16) (En) akartam olvasni.
I wanted to read.

Now, above, in section 1.1, we have seen that the syntactic apparatus which generates (15) exists in Hungarian (cf. (2a-d)). In light of this, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that (16) is transformationally derived from an underlying phrase marker which is structurally identical to the one underlying (15). The transformation in question would then be Equi-NP-Deletion, whose effect is to delete the subject of a complement sentence just in case it is identical to the subject (or, in other cases, some other designated NP) of the matrix sentence.

There are other cases of Equi-NP-Deletion, in which the NP of the matrix sentence, with which the subject of the complement is identical, is not a subject. Thus, with the verb segit, 'help', we find both:

(17) Segitettem Janosnak.
I helped John-Dat.
I helped John.

without a complement, and

(18) Segitettem Janosnak hazahozni az elefantot.
I helped John-Dat to bring home the elephant-Acc.
I helped John (to) bring home the elephant.

with an infinitival complement. Here too, it seems reasonable to assume that Equi-NP-Deletion has applied, deleting the subject of the embedded clause, with the identity condition that

this subject be identical to the Dative NP in the matrix sentence.

Note, finally, that just as the "control NP' (the NP of the matrix clause, under identity with which the subject of the embedding is deleted) varies from verb to verb, so does the applicability of the Equi-NP Deletion rule itself. In Hungarian, as in English, there are verbs which require that the identity condition be met. Whether this is to be stated at the level where the rule applies (following Lakoff (1965)), or at the deep structure level (following Perlmutter (1971)), is immaterial for present purposes. Both suggestions leave something to be desired. The fact is that in both languages there are verbs which may never appear with a tensed clause complement--only with an infinitive. Próbál ('try') and segít ('help') are such (both in English and Hungarian). Segit appears above with an infinitival complement. It cannot appear with a tensed clause:

(19) *Segitettem Janosnak, hogy Pista elmenjen.
I helped John-Dat that Steve leave.

As for próbál, we find:

(20) *Probaltam, hogy Pista olvasson.
I tried that Steve read.

(21) *Probaltam, hogy en olvassak.
I tried that I read.

(22) Probaltam olvasni.
I tried to read.

We also find verbs which do not allow Equi-NP Deletion even when the subject of the embedded clause is identical to the subject

(or object) of the matrix. Elhataroz ('decide'), and ker ('ask') are like this:

(23) *Elhataroztam elmenni.
I decided to leave.

But:

(24) Elhataroztam, hogy elmegyek.
I decided that I leave.

Similarly,

(25) *Kertem Pistat elmenni.
I asked Steve-Acc to leave.

But:

(26) Kertem Pistat, hogy menjen el.
I asked Steve-Acc that he leave.

It appears that Equi-NP Deletion also operates on complement sentences in subject position. This will be shown in section 4.

3.2 There is another source of infinitival complements in Hungarian, namely PRO subject deletion. By PRO subject I mean a kind of generalized, indefinite subject, rather like the English word "one" in "One should not eat only brown rice." This PRO subject deletion rule also appears in English, again giving rise to infinitives.[3] Thus, in English, given an underlying structure of the form:

(27) PRO eat brown rice only is bad

the surface output, through this rule and others will be:

(28) It is bad to eat only brown rice.

Infinitival complements with such meanings are also found in Hungarian:

(29) Nem jo csak barna rizst enni.
Not good only brown rice-Acc to eat.
It is not good to eat only brown rice.

That such a rule indeed gives rise to tree-pruning (an operation which deletes a non-branching S-node) in Hungarian, is illustrated by the following sentence:

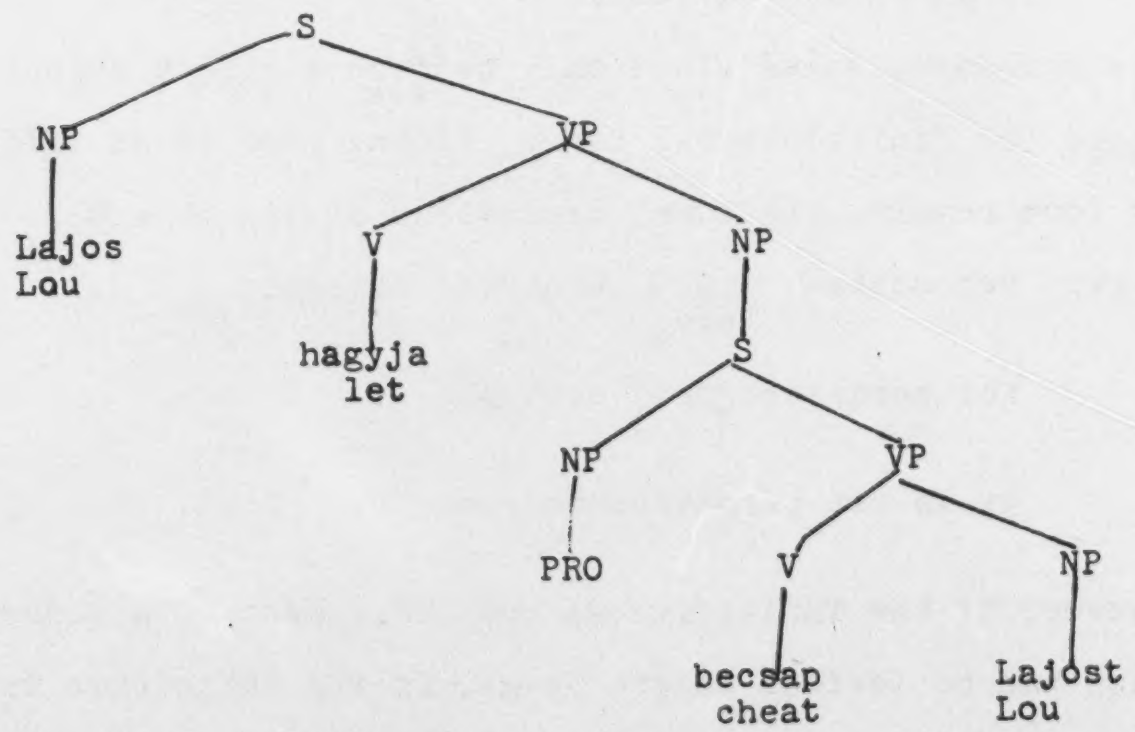
(30) Lajos mindig hagyja magat becsapni
Lou always lets himself-Acc to cheat.

which, surprisingly enough, means:

Lou always lets himself be cheated.

The structure underlying (30) is, presumably, something like:

(31)



Since the subject of the embedded clause is PRO, and Reflexivization in Hungarian does not operate across sentence-nodes, in order to account for the reflexive pronoun magat ('himself') in (30), we have to assume that, after PRO subject deletion, the embedded S-node "prunes" (is deleted), allowing Reflexivization to operate on the object of the embedded clause.

3.3 To conclude this discussion of infinitival complements, I will consider, briefly, the interaction of two other syntactic phenomena with Equi-NP-Deletion.

Hungarian has a rule of Verb-Object agreement, which marks a transitive verb in accordance with the definiteness of its direct object (cf. Szamosi (1971)). To illustrate:

(32) Olvasom a konyvet.
I read-Def the book-Acc.
I am reading the book.

(33) Olvasok egy konyvet.
I read-Indef a book-Acc.
I am reading a book.

This agreement takes place only between a direct object and a tensed (or finite) verbal form. If the verb is an infinitive, its form remains the same, regardless of its object:

(34) Nem szabad $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{a}\\\text{egy}\end{matrix}\right\}$ konyvet olvasni.

Not permitted $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{the}\\\text{a}\end{matrix}\right\}$ book-Acc to read.

It is not permitted to read $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{the}\\\text{a}\end{matrix}\right\}$ book.

However, if the infinitive is the complement of a tensed verb which has no lexical object (e.g., if the infinitive is the result of Equi-NP Deletion of a subject of an embedded sentential object), then the agreement will show up on this tensed matrix verb. Thus:

(35) Akarok olvasni egy konyvet. (*Akarom)
I want-Indef to read a book-Acc. I want-Def
I want to read a book.

(36) Akarom olvasni a konyvet. (*Akarok)
I want-Def. to read the book-Acc. I want-Indef.

This will happen no matter how many infinitives stand between the tensed verb and the accusative noun phrase:

(37) Janos akarja probalni olvasni a konyvet. (*Akar)
John wants-Def to try to read the book-Acc. wants-Ind.
John wants to try to read the book.

The second set of interesting facts concerns the so-called verbal prefixes in Hungarian. While it is not at all clear to me what governs their distribution and placement in surface structure, it is a fact that certain verbs may (or must), under certain conditions, appear with an invariable prefix. The conditions for the appearance of the prefixes are probably semantic (at least in part), -- they are adverbial in nature, denoting direction and sometimes aspect. The conditions on their placement in surface structure are quite possibly syntactic. It is enough to point out here that the most "neutral" position for them is immediately preceding the verb, and that a given verb may have only one prefix. If, however, the verb is negated, the negation nem ('not') "takes precedence" over the prefix in that nem will immediately precede the verb, and the prefix will follow:

(38) Megettem a dinnyet.
I ate the melon-Acc.
I ate (up) the melon.

(39) Nem ettem meg a dinnyet.
Not I ate up the melon-Acc.
I did not eat up the melon.

What is interesting about these prefixes is that they have a tendency to move "up" towards tensed verb, if they can. Thus:

(40) *Akarom megenni a dinnyet.
I want pref-to eat the melon.

(41) Meg akarom enni a dinnyet.
Pref I want to eat the melon.

On the other hand, if akarom is already preceded by a negative particle, the prefix cannot move to the above position:

(42) Nem akarom megenni a dinnyet.
Not I want pref-to eat the melon.
I don't want to eat the melon.

(43) *Nem meg akarom enni a dinnyet.

Again, as in the case of the verb-object agreement, there is no limit as to how far the prefix can move, if only infinitives intervene:

(44) Meg fogom akarni tudni enni a dinnyet.
Pref I will to want to be able to eat the melon.
I will want to be able to eat the melon.

It should be pointed out that, in a simple sentence, the kind of prefix that appears depends solely on the verb. In particular, enni may take meg (cf. (38)) and a few others, but neither akarni ('want'), which appears in (41), nor fogni (future auxiliary) in (44) may ever take any kind of prefix in isolation. This should make it clear that these prefixes do, indeed, originate, in underlying structure, in some embedded clause (e.g., in the most deeply embedded clause, the one containing enni, in (44)), and are subsequently moved up into the main sentence.

4.0 The verb kell; a case study. In this section I would like to pull together some of the ideas and operations introduced in the first three sections, by using them to account for the

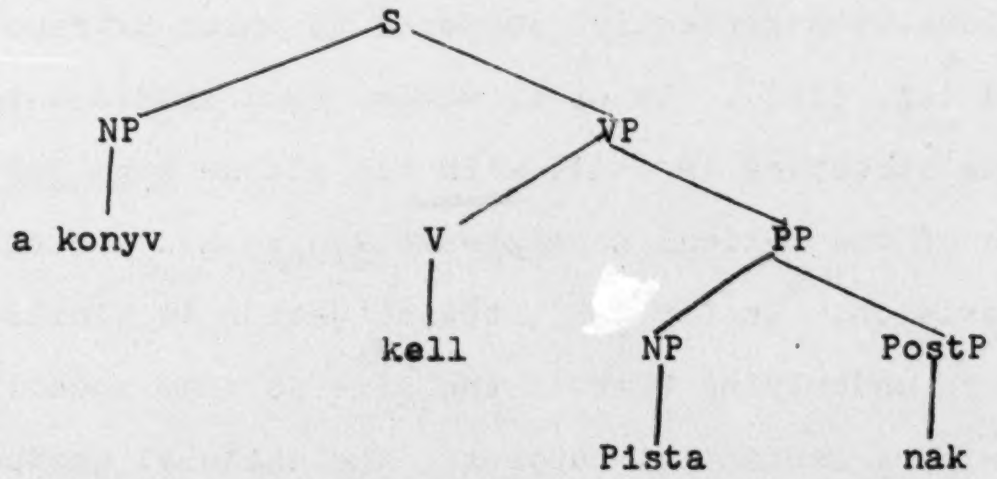
constructions in which the verb <u>kell</u> ('is necessary','is needed') appears.

4.1 To begin with, consider the simplex sentences in which this verb appears.

(45) A konyv kell Pistanak.
The book is needed Steve-Dat.
Steve needs the book.

It seems that there is no reason to suppose that the deep structure of (45) is any different (in relevant respects) from the phrase marker in (46):

(46)



This is the basic structure that we shall adopt. It can be seen from (47), that the Postpositional Phrase following the verb is an optional element:

(47) A konyv **nem** kell.
The book not is needed.
The book is not needed.

4.2 <u>Kell</u> can also occur in a variety of complex constructions:

(48) (Az) kell, Pistanak, hogy Julia elmenjen.
It-nom is needed Steve-Dat that Julia leave.
It is necessary for Steve for Julia to go away.

(49) (Az) kell, hogy Julia elmenjen.
It is necessary that Julia leave.
It is necessary for Julia to leave. (Impersonal construction)

(50) Julia el kell, hogy menjen.
Julia Pref(away) is necessary that go.
It is necessary for Julia to leave. (same meaning as (49))

(51) Julianak el kell menni(e)
Julia-Dat Pref (away) is necessary to go.
It is necessary for Julia to leave. (In the sense of necessary for, incumbent upon Julia)

(48) is rather easily accounted for if we recall that az...hogy, (nominative demonstrative...tensed clause) is typical of constructions with sentential subjects to which Extraposition has applied (cf. (10)). In other words, (48) is accounted for by the same structure in (46), with the clause hogy Julia elmenjen instead of the lexical noun phrase konyv, and the rule of Extraposition. As for (49), the situation is similar. The structure underlying this is the same as that underlying (47), again with a sentential subject. The optional postpositional phrase is missing, which simply means that it is not indicated for whom it is necessary that Julia leave; hence the "impersonal construction" meaning. Extraposition has applied in (49) as well. In both (48) and (49), a later rule optionally deletes the demonstrative az.

(50) is nothing but a stylistic variant of (49). It seems that there is a very late rule, which does not affect the shape of the complement clause, which takes the subject of a complement sentence, and moves it into sentence initial position,

provided that (a) the matrix clause has no lexical subject, and (b) there is no noun phrase in the "path" of this rule. In other words, this rule will apply, after Extraposition and az-deletion, to subjects of tensed subject-clauses, whose predicates have no objects. Thus, from:

(52) Jo, hogy Janos elment.
good that John left.
It is good that John left.

we get, by this rule:

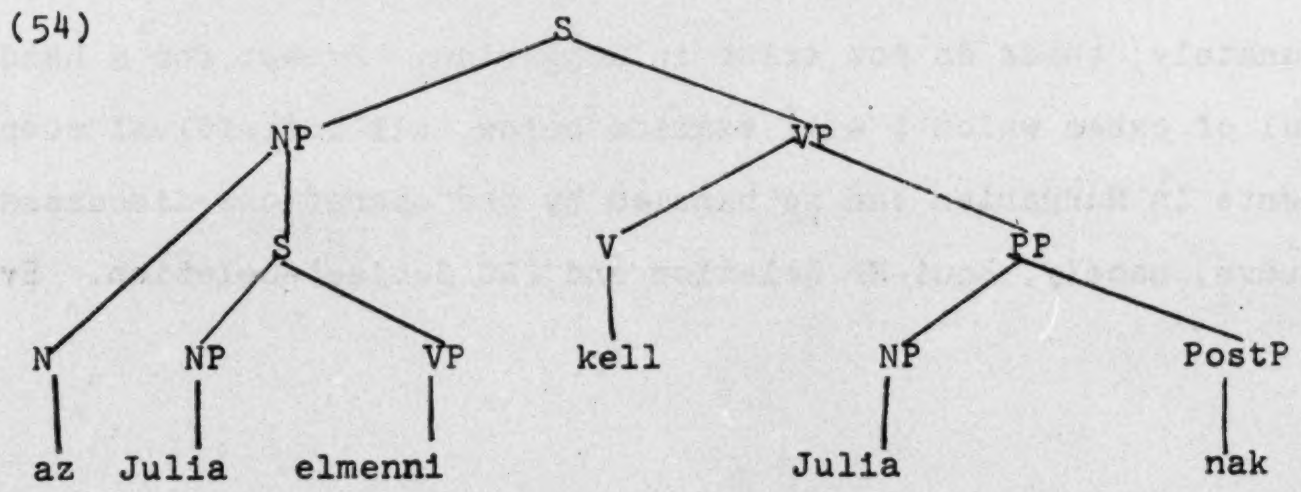
(53) Janos jo, hogy elment.
It is good that John left.

which, although of questionable status in isolation, will pass as a conversational, stylistic variant of (52). The main difference between (53) and (50) is the position of the verbal prefix el. This is a natural consequence of the fact that while kell is a full-fledged, tensed verb, jo is a tenseless predicate, an adjective; prefixes move to tensed verbs only.

(50) is, for some people, marginal at best. It appears that, in some dialects (my own for example), the Prefix-movement rule is generalized, in some instances, to cases where the prefix does not necessarily originate on an infinitive.

As for (51), its proposed analysis is this:

(54)



with subsequent Equi-NP Deletion and Prefix Movement to give (51).

5.0 In what follows, I will present a brief discussion of the relevance of Subject Raising for a grammar of Hungarian.

5.1 In section 1, above, we saw that the analysis of the deep structures of complement constructions as developed in Rosenbaum (at least the part pertaining to head-nouns) fits Hungarian like a glove. At the same time, as subsequent research has shown, it is dubious for English complement constructions. The situation is exactly the opposite as far as the rule of Subject-Raising is concerned. The evidence for it, in English, is abundant; hence the framework of Rosenbaum, in which this investigation is conducted, allows for, and relies heavily on this rule in English syntax. Nevertheless, it may be hasty judgement to postulate its existence in Hungarian without examining the evidence for it.

5.2 What is the kind of evidence that one would look for, to determine whether Raising exists in Hungarian? In English, Raising accounts for a large number of infinitival complement constructions which cannot be otherwise accounted for. Unfortunately, these do not exist in Hungarian. Except for a handful of cases which I will examine below, all infinitival complements in Hungarian can be handled by the operations discussed above, namely, Equi-NP Deletion and PRO Subject-Deletion. Even

in those cases where it is not clear whether it is viable to posit an Equi-NP analysis, it is almost impossible to provide clear-cut evidence for or against a Raising analysis. The reasons for this become obvious when we consider the basic strategies used in justifying Subject-Raising in English. There are a number of them. First, the familiar Reflexive argument. If one considers a sentence like

(55) John believes himself to be silly.

in conjunction with the sentence

(56) John believes that he is silly.

whose complement analysis is already known, and when one considers further that Reflexivization operates only within simplex sentences in English, then the obvious way to account for the appearance of the reflexive in (55) is to assume that (55) has basically the same deep structure as (56), and that the subject of the embedded clause has been "raised" out of its clause into object position in the matrix clause, where it can undergo Reflexivization, leaving an infinitival clause behind. There are not sentences of this type in Hungarian, that I know of.

The other basic argument for Raising comes from sentences of the type:

(57) I expect there to be a riot.

(58) There seems to be a riot.

(59) I expect advantage to be taken of their innocence.

(60) Advantage seems to have been taken of their innocence.

With respect to expect (Raising into object position) the argument goes like this: we know from independent evidence that there is a transformationally introduced subject and hence it can never be the deep structure object of any verb. Similarly, advantage can only be the object of take, and no other verb. Thus to account for the fact that in (57) and (59), there and advantage are the objects of expect, we will posit sentential object complements $[_S$a riot be$]_S$ and $[_S$PRO take advantage...$]_S$, respectively, derive there and advantage as subjects by There-insertion and Passive, and then let Raising apply, to get there and advantage as objects of expect. As for (58) and (60) (Raising into subject position), the argument is centered around the generality of statements that There-insertion and Passive transformations should be expected to make.

Note, however, that crucial to these arguments is the idea of a unique subject. Now unique underlying subjects are very rare--the ones discussed above are derived. Unfortunately there seems to be no evidence that Hungarian has any way of deriving such things. It has no expletives; no there's, no "weather it"'s, and no productive passive transformation. This is why evidence for Raising is so hard to find.

As pointed out above, there are only a handful of verbs in Hungarian involved with infinitival constructions, for which I find it hard to justify an analysis involving Equi-NP Deletion. While I cannot find any evidence that this would be a wrong

analysis, I just have not been able to deal with these verbs in a satisfactory way. First, there are the perception verbs: lat ('see'); hall ('hear'); nez ('watch'), etc. E.g.,

(61) Lattam ot hazajonni.
I saw him-Acc to come home.
I saw him come home.

I have a strong suspicion that these verbs have an underlying structure of the schematic form:

$$[_S NP[_{VP} V\ NP[_{NP}[_S NP\ \ VP]_S]\ NP]_{VP}]_S$$

but I cannot show it conclusively.

Next, we have the verb talal, which, with an infinitival complement, means "happen". Semantically, this verb is the strongest candidate for Subject Raising, but I can find no syntactic arguments to show this. I might point out that this verb is not even cognate with the other Hungarian word for "happen", namely tortenik, which allows only a tensed complement, in subject position.

Lastly, there is the verb hagy 'to let', 'allow', for which I cannot even begin to state the constructions in which it appears--they seem to depend on other lexical material within the matrix and/or embedded sentences. In short, more research will have to be done on these verbs before their exact syntactic nature can be determined, and before they can be brought to bear on the question of the Raising rule. I have mentioned them here only for the sake of completeness.

5.3 We see, then, that, while we cannot rule out the possibility of there being a Raising rule in Hungarian, it seems that, if it exists, it has to be a very marginal rule. It would have nowhere near the syntactic significance of the Raising rule in English. There is, however, one type of syntactic construction not involving infinitives, which is very similar to constructions (also without infinitives) in English and French, which, in these languages are assumed to be derived through the application of Raising. I will present an argument showing that, by themselves, these constructions do not necessitate postulating such a rule in Hungarian, since there is a very natural alternative for deriving them.[5]

Consider:

(62) Pista Janost okosnak gondolja
Steve John-Acc clever-Dat thinks, believes, considers.
Steve considers John clever.

(63) Janos betegnek latszik.
John sick-Dat seems.
John seems sick.

6

Expressions like this are derived, in English, from an underlying structure which has a sentential complement: Steve considers $[_S$John be clever$]_S$, through Raising: Steve considers John to be clever, and finally, to be deletion gives the English version of (62). Similarly, for the English version of (63), the embedded complement is in subject position, and the sentence is derived through Raising and to be deletion.

I will show now that this derivation is not necessary in Hungarian. The lexical item latszik ('seems' in (63)) has a

number of different senses. Each of its senses is associated with one (or more) particular syntactic construction. Thus, when it has a lexical subject (and no adjectival or other complement), its meaning is 'to appear' (physically) or 'to be showing':

(64) A zoknija latszik.
The socks-his are showing.
His socks are showing.

When it has a sentential subject, its meaning is 'to be apparent', 'to be evident':

(65) (Az) latszik, hogy soha nem jaratal iskolaba.
(It) is apparent that never not you went school-to.
It is apparent that you never went to school.

Now when we come to the meaning exhibited in (63), namely 'seem', we find that there are two constructions for this sense of latszik; (63), and another one with a sentential complement:

(66) (Az) Ugy latszik, hogy esni fog.
(It) so (in that way) seems that to rain will.
It seems that it will rain today.

Similarly, for gondol ('think','believe') (or for talal, 'find'), we find that the sense of this verb that we saw in (62), can also appear with a sentential complement, as in:

(67) Karoly (azt) ugy gondolta hogy Gyorgy
Carl (it-Acc) so(in that way) {thought, considered, figured} that George

talan bemaszott az ablakon.
perhaps climbed in the window.[7]

Now the central point in this argument is this: we can find evidence in (66) and (67) that the verbs in these sentences

have to be subcategorized in a certain way. Given that the sense of the verbs in (63) and (62) is the same as in (66) and (67), respectively, we can make use of the fact about the subcategorization evidenced in the latter sentences to show that the former are, pretty nearly their own deep structures (structurally).

Consider the status of the sentential complements in (66) and (67). I claim that, in (66), the complement is not the subject of the verb, nor is the complement in (67) the direct object. Rather, they are dominated, in both cases, by some other NP-node, which, for convenience only, we will denote by NP(Manner).

That this is so is evidenced by the appearance, in both (66) and (67), of the word ugy ('so', 'in that way', 'in that manner'). We have seen in section 1 that every occurrence of a sentential complement in Hungarian is accompanied by a demonstrative, or "head-noun", and that these demonstratives are always "case-marked" according to the syntactic function they serve (or according to the case that the verb they appear with governs). Now, ugy is, in fact a demonstrative; it means 'so', 'in that way'. It is not phonologically akin to the demonstrative az, seen in (2), simply because it is the result of morphological suppletion. While a good number of pro-forms are built around the stem az for demonstratives and mi for questions (parallel to th-words and wh-words in English), some are simply

suppletions, like the manner-adverbial proforms: ugy for the demonstrative, and hogy ('how') for the question word.[8] My claim, then, is that it is this ugy that is the head-noun of the sentential complements above, rather than az in (66) or azt in (67). The support for this claim comes from two sources: first, it is felt by a native speaker that ugy is to be "construed with" the sentential complement in both of the above sentences. Second, if we apply a movement transformation to the sentential complement, such as the rule of Topicalization mentioned in section 1, we see that the constituent which appears at the beginning of the sentence is ugy, hogy..., rather than az, hogy... or azt, hogy ...; and the reduplicated pronoun that appears in these "topicalized" forms is, again, the manner pro-form, ugy:

(68) Ugy, hogy esni fog, ugy latszik.

(69) Ugy, hogy Gyorgy bemaszott az ablakon, ugy gondolta (azt) Karoly.

(with very heavy stress on both ugy's)

This establishes the claim that these sentential complements are neither subjects, in sentences like (66), nor direct objects, in constructions like (67). The question remains, then, what are the optional demonstratives (or pronouns) in parentheses in (66) and (67). I have no ready answer. All one can say about them is that they "feel" to be almost empty, semantically, and it seems that they are simply "fillers" for the subject (or object) NP-nodes that are generated for the underlying forms in which latszik and gondol appear. An intuitive

idea of their semantic (or syntactic) import can be given if one considers the pro-form it in the English sentences:

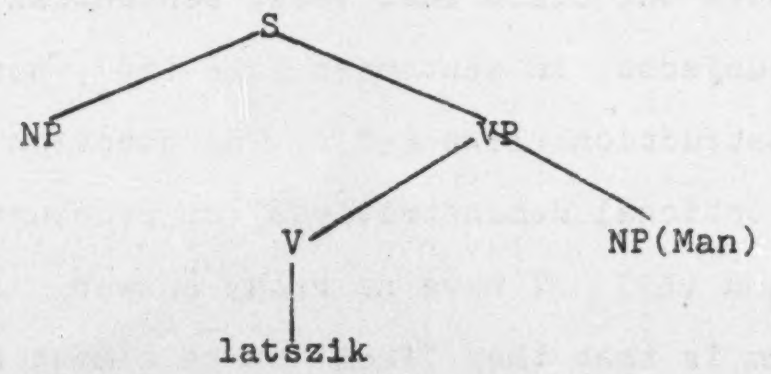
(70) The way it strikes me is that it must be very hard to read Arabic.

(71) The way George figured it is that George must have climbed in the window.

I find no ready referent of this it in English.

Consider, now, what we have shown. The sense of latszik in (66) (and of kinez, tetszik, tunik, etc., which also appear in the same construction) is subcategorized in the base component to appear with both a lexical subject (az) and an NP (Manner)-node. Similarly, the sense of gondol in (67) (and of talal, hisz, nez, etc.) is subcategorized to appear with a lexical direct object NP (azt) and an NP(Man)-node. But recall that the sense, or meaning of latszik in (66) is the same as (63), and that of gondol in (67) is the same as in (62). Given all this, it is not unreasonable to assume that the underlying structure of (63) is essentially the same as that of the matrix sentence in (66), namely:

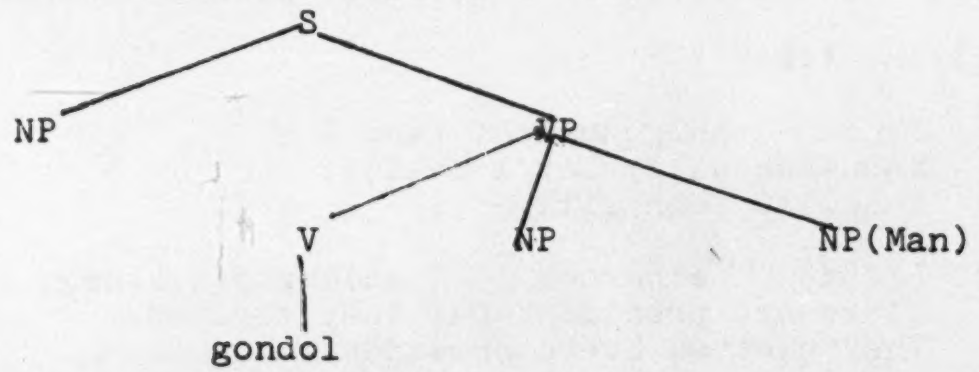
(72)



with the difference that, in (66) the NP(Man)-node is expanded sententially, and there is no meaning-bearing lexical

subject, while in (63), the subject is Janos, and the NP(Man)-node dominates the adjective beteg. Similarly the deep structure of (66) and of (67) are essentially the same:

(73)



and, again, in (67), NP(Man) is expanded into S, and the direct object is the pro-form azt, while in (62), the direct object is Janost, and the NP(Man)-node dominates the adjective okos.

An additional piece of evidence for this analysis is that with verbs like latszik or kinez ('seem', 'appear') and talal ('find') (though not with gondol) it is possible to question the NP(Man)-node with the manner question word hogy ('how'), and (62), (63) are natural answers to these questions:

(74) Hogy nez ki Janos?
How seems John
How does John seem?

(75) Hogy talalod Pistat?
How you find Steve-Acc
How do you find Steve?

A major argument in favor of the sentential complement-cum-Raising analysis for (62), (63), and similar constructions is the fact that certain selectional restrictions obtain between the noun phrase and the adjective (or nominal) in the above, which are typical of Subject-Predicate restrictions and which

have to be stated independently, for simple sentences. It seems, however, that there has to be a mechanism which takes care of such restrictions, independently of (62) or (63), because of the existence of sentences, both in Hungarian and in English, like:

(76) Janost hulyenek hivtam.
John-Acc silly-Dat I called.
I called John silly.

(77) Pistat elnoknek valasztottak meg.
Steve-Acc president-Dat they elected.
They elected Steve president.

It would be very hard to justify an analysis in which the above had sentential complements like: $[_S$John be silly$]_S$ or $[_S$Steve be president$]_S$, respectively. The mechanism which states the selectional restrictions for (76) and (77), can also be used for (62) or (63).

It should be pointed out that it has not been shown that it is necessary to account for constructions like (62) and (63) in the way outlined above. It seems, though, that this is a possible approach. The value of the demonstration lies in this latter fact; it does not provide clear-cut evidence as to whether Subject Raising does or does not exist in Hungarian.

Footnotes

1. Rosenbaum's VP→ V (S) is not very strongly evidenced in any language that I know of.

2. Presumably, it would be just as easy to follow Jackendoff (1969) and replace the Equi-NP transformation by an account which relies on semantic interpretation involving non-lexical terminal nodes. As pointed out above, it is mainly for the sake of coherence and because most linguists are familiar with it that I follow Rosenbaum's approach.

3. Of course, it is not at all clear that we are dealing with a deletion rule. After all, even in a theory that does not rely on cyclical semantic interpretation, it is possible to conceive of a generalized subject NP which does not have any phonological shape, and is rather like this pronoun 'one' in its syntactic and semantic properties. The question of deletion becomes crucial only when one enters into the murky investigation of the evidence for tree-pruning. I will assume a deletion rule for present purposes.

4. The above sentence sounds a little bit contrived, but only because I have presented it, for expository purposes, with a not-so-natural word order. A more felicitous rendition of the above would be:

(i) Janos a konyvet olvasni probalni akarja.

I am not at all sure what the word order change is due to, but such changes and constraints on word order point the way for a comprehensive study of underlying word order in Hungarian.

5. The English examples adduced in the discussion below are not meant to imply that the same analysis is viable in English--they are brought in for expository purposes only.

6. The above are just two examples of the entire list which includes: hisz-'believe', 'consider'; talal-'find', kinez, tetszik-'seems, appears', etc.

7. The idea that different senses of a lexical item are associated with different constructions can be seen with the English verbs find, or consider:

(i) John found five dollars.

(ii) The committee found that great amounts of beer are consumed on the job.

(iii) George found Mary attractive.

or:

(iv) John considered the problem.

(v) I want you to consider (the fact) that the athletes from Zagreb hadn't had anything to eat all day. (here, consider = "take into consideration")

(vi) I consider Harry an idiot.

8. I suspect that this is related to the fact that there is no one postposition or case-marker which is uniquely associated with manner adverbials.

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